756 This taiwan is an old one; nobody knows
556 what doctor owned it. Poso'o told J.A. about
778 it and warned her to keep away from it. He said a big sickness (tau´mui) like consumption or pneumonia would "come out" if any one attempted to disturb the place.

751 A doctor who has not practised long, yet
556 shows inordinate signs of wealth, is suspected
266 of being a grave-robber. Some doctors were not afraid of graves or of dead people. When they opened a grave they ate all the flesh of the corpse and left the bones scattered about.[6]

Once J.A., her daughter Belle, M.P. and her daughter Leah were out gathering wild onions on the Pohot ranch. They found a baby's skeleton: first they found a shoulder and a little hand, then a leg, and then a foot farther over toward the northwest. They were terrified and ran away at once. About a week later they heard that Halopča and his father, Etak, had dug up a little girl's grave; she was of a wealthy family and had lots of money buried with her. As these men lived up at Dunlap it was thought that they had come down via Eshom Valley to Lime Kiln Creek and thrown the remains on the Pohot's property to obviate suspicion.

683 Doctors who were believed to cause deaths
754 were usually killed when someone had courage to do it. J.A. did not formulate the procedure, merely said that this was so, and that her own grandfather was killed by some Tachi because it was thought he "sent sickness."

Illnesses and Treatments:
The following were specified by J.A.

752

757 Headache: de´ltal. This was cured by sucking blood (pai´yan:t) from the forehead just between the eyes.

[753] Nose bleed: ţomo´luna. This was due to a long hair of a dead person which a ghost inserted in one's forehead. The hair lay, internally, down the length of the nose. A doctor cut and sucked the extreme tip of the nose, and exhibited the intrusive hair.

Pain: woto´kwi. Any pain was called by this term and an attempt would be made to cure it by cutting and sucking.

757 Cold: ho´sowona. This was usually not treated unless very severe. The roots of a hard-wood shrub (atsai´y:n ho´pal) were boiled and drunk for chills. To prevent cold in the chest a red clay was smeared liberally over the chest. For a bad cough, horehound was boiled and the liquid drunk. A cold which became

[754] incurable (pneumonia or consumption) would be attributed to a malevolent shaman, and then a shaman would be called to attempt a cure by his methods.

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[6] Burials were shallow and not impervious to animals. However, the belief that doctors ate the flesh of dead people is mentioned from other tribes.

757 Several anecdotes of individual sickness were related by J.A.

When X. was a little girl, she "had fits." A Choinimni doctor, No'hono, was paid $5.00 for cutting her at the forehead and the back of the neck, but no cure was affected. Another doctor, Kaosus, did the same thing; he extracted some intrusive hair from the back of the child's neck. She was cured.

[753] Another little girl "had fits" which were attributed to an evil man. This man, who had come to shear sheep, asked the child's father for $20.00, an amount the father did not have as he had just bought a horse. Soon after that the little girl "had a fit every time she saw that man" (a possible case of rape?). Nohono, the Choinimni shaman, was called to cure this case also.

W.At.'s little girl "had fits" every night and morning. Her dead twin sister, Sikiyat, kept calling her. When Koyiyi had these spells she kept turning her head and looking back over her shoulder for her sister. They took her to another Choinimni doctor, Sumtiwas (Bob of Bobtown) who gave the foregoing diagnosis; however, he said if "he got that spirit [the dead sister's] out of the child she would die." J.A. and others were skeptical of this excuse. J.A. told the girl's mother to make her smell romero (rosemary), which was "used by the padres and smells good," when she had these attacks. When Koyiyi "starts to die" lumps form between her eyebrows, but disappear when she "comes to life." Recently the child fell in a pond, but recovered herself. [Epilepsy?]

756 J.A. knew of one woman doctor, Suko't·ts, ● 683 who lived down at Tule River Reservation. She was not a berdache, for she had a son who, himself a doctor, was eventually killed for malpractice.[87] J.A. has seen her cure.

[754] A black scorpion bit Tsomoi'yot (J.A.'s cousin) on her foot; it had been sent by a 755 Wukchumni doctor. Sukot·ts was called. She 752 sat down before the patient and talked to her 756 dream helper who told her the cause of the trouble. (There was no dancing.) She sang a song:

tuna'ha la na we·ta'
pine tree on I wainus[88]

hiye'wuka na
where-I-am I

we·ta' puku'lu na
wainus wainus [Tachi form] I

At the end of the song she gestured up toward the pine ridges of the hills and then down to

[87] This is the woman known as Poi'in or Bo'iyon to other informants.

[88] Wainus was a supernatural serpent (?) who lived underground; he was a powerful dream helper. See Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths.

278 two "recipes" for poisons. (1) Jimsonweed and
753 "some other plants" pounded up in a mortar; this was called mɛts añta´wa, real or true poison. (2) A rock poison, haiyɛ´nɛl, was made of pulverized iridescent rock which was said to protrude from the ground. It "looked pretty, just like soap, all colors; nobody dared to go near it." J.A. said she "even hated to look at it."

The whole concept of poisoning is indeterminate. It was dwelt upon at length by J.A.,[59] yet, as always, she said it was more prevalent somewhere else: she claimed it was "worse up north and down at the reservation [Tule River] than around here." The foothill people, too, pointed to its southern source, claiming it spread from there after the 1870 Ghost Dance.

Both ordinary and tɛpni people were thought to resort to poison. If a person wanted another killed, he would ask someone near the person to poison him for pay, frequently a friend of the victim. If the friend refused another person would be hired to kill them both. A bad doctor would put poison on clothes left hanging about or on hair combings. If someone discovered the contaminated
[787 objects and burned them--for instance, a person
82-8 in a jimsonweed narcosis could see poison--it would kill the doctor who had placed it there. But when this was not done sickness resulted, not only to the owner of the clothes, but also to others. Also the poison might be blown around by tɛpni people; they could not make "airshot," however.

Some further anecdotes of poisoning were related by J.A.

A woman [whose name is not recalled] was outside doing some washing. She had a baby cradled near by. Her lunch was already prepared in the house: she went in and ate it. Immediately her heart began to beat hard and she vomited blood. The baby "put up blood" too. The baby died first, then the mother, both too quick to get a doctor [white]. Nobody knew who poisoned her, "but somebody must have." This happened about fifteen years ago.

Down at Ričikitu [Pitanisha] there was a doctor who was able to shoot poison instead of resorting to the contamination method. He shot it into a woman down there who began to urinate blood; at first she thought she was
● [683 just menstruating. Then she vomited blood and died. A few days later the woman's husband met the doctor on the road and shot him.

W.At. had a boy fifteen years old. He suddenly vomited "a whole pan of blood and died." A white physician was summoned but did not arrive in time.

J.A.'s maternal uncle, Tɛpwa´tswat (Charlie), was a Wowol chief who was poisoned by a Humtinin chief, Laimo´ndo, from Fort Tejon. They were both at Porterville where Laimondo put poison in Tɛpwatswats' coffee. Soon after

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[59] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 402 ff., for anecdotal material.

[P. 97b] Wukchumni

624 Shaman-killer.---The person designated by
756 this term (hi'au'ta) was in no sense a clown,[232] and it is doubtful if he should be included as an official. The hi'auta was a man without fear who usually attained this condition through dreams of Falcon or Cougar. The
[683] hi'auta were called upon to rid the community of an undesirable shaman who the chief agreed should be killed.

The hi'auta was a desperado, he killed doctors. He had to kill on the first shot or get killed himself. The tia'a would send him out to get rid of a bad doctor. When the doctor set off on a trip the hi'auta followed him and killed him the first chance he got. There were three to five hi'auta in every tribe. They never did anything funny to make people laugh (S.G.).

He was a bad man and did not stop fighting until he had killed a man. He was not afraid to kill doctors (M.L.).

In my grandmother's time people did not laugh at doctors. But there was one [kind of] mean man that was not afraid to. He was called hi'auta -- "smarty." If he had a chance, he'd kill the doctor first, but if he didn't the doctor would give him a nosebleed [by supernatural means], or maybe kill him. They [hi'auta] always died quick, but sometimes doctors would give one a bad lingering sickness if he was extra mean (J.P.).

522 Clown.---There was no official clown among
624 the Yokuts. Persons of Coyote lineage clowned at the Snake Ritual (quod vide), but this was a matter of personal choice.

Directional Groupings

621 Division of the populace into totemic
616 moieties was not followed by the Wukchumni, al-
[184] though they knew and used the moiety names of the dichotomized tribes of the lake region. The terms, for the Wukchumni, were directional indicators applied only to tribes; yet a sense of opposition did result from this division into "uplanders" and "lowlanders," just as with the social moieties.

A formulation of this kind of geographical moiety and its functions was difficult to make owing to conflicting or confused statements of informants. After much discussion with M.L. and J.B. the facts below emerged free from doubt. The difference of opinion of J.P. and M.P. may be due to their lesser participation in the old life, when contact between the Wukchumni and the moiety-possessing tribes was closer, and their greater participation in the recent life with more contact with the non-moietized Waksachi (Western Mono).

J.P. and M.P. claimed that they "didn't know anything about some kinds of pošas [totems]

[232] Kroeber was informed that the hiauta (Yaudanchi) was a clown (ibid.)

[P. 1126] Wukchumni

756
789 was not developed as a specific ability by Wukchumni shamans as it was with those of Western Mono.

Rain-making

No Wukchumni or Gawia had power to control weather, to the knowledge of present-day informants. The only person M.P. ever saw affect the weather was a doctor named Elaʼmki who came up from Kern River. He visited her uncle, Haićača, who asked him to make rain. Elamki had a basket of water, and as he sang, he dipped the end of a special sort of stone in the water and with it sprinkled water in all directions. Then he picked up handfuls of earth and threw after the water. Then he lay down to sleep. He had been asked to make a hard rain. And so he did. It rained so hard that Haičača had to give Elamki a dollar and ask him to make it stop.

Killing of Shamans

756 Shamans were feared because of their
754 ability to cause sickness and death. Not only did they secure fees by this means, but by threats of misuse of their power were able to demand "gifts." Three anecdotes of malicious Wukchumni shamans have been previously published.[257]

683 When a shaman was believed to be a public
756 menace, the chief of the village of his victims would give those who wanted revenge permission to kill him. Usually the outranged relatives of the shaman's most recent victim would be the ones to do this; they might be joined by other avengers. Sometimes a man who was known for his reckless bravery (hiʼauta) would be hired to do the killing. There was a risk even in killing a shaman, for his powerful ghost might return to do further harm.

683 Such killings, however, were not infrequent, and the shaman who lived above suspicion was fortunate. Apparently the desire for wealth and social power caused shamans to pursue their uneasy life. "Doctors did not like to hear shooting -- they always ran" (J.B.).

A typical account of a shaman's death was given by M.S., the Yaudanchi. Her mother remarried, this time to Kiʼpaţ, a Patwisha [?] shaman. They all lived at Cihoiʼli. Someone "from near Clovis" (Gashowu territory) had a grudge against Kipat and enlisted the aid of Košowi, an Entimbich shaman, for revenge. Košowi induced Kipat to drink a decoction of jimsonweed and, while the latter was in a stupefied condition, the aggrieved man came up and killed him. After Kipat was buried, a tremendous wind arose, so great that "it fright-

[257] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 394-395, 403.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ:rni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa ˇčki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which [531] opened at the owner's command. The rocks were usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[250]

756 778 823 [531] Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš:šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

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[250] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 130-139, figs. 51, 52.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.149 b] Choiwimmi

BURIAL

763 616 If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the 764 morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

764 767 Meanwhile official buriers (tono´č:m) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

765 773 The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

765 302 Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

756 This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier [778] times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he voluntarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In ● [683] old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

756 787 276 To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21] Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22] To be sleepy is en´t:m. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

756 galia] and announced that he was going to dance
789 around the fire, then throw himself into it. This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

756 Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and
769 thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were
821 buried at once without delay. Anyone who grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as for an ordinary person. Some shamans were buried in the village cemetery.

Shamans often received gifts of food, par-
756 ticularly deer meat from hunters: men feared
789 that if they did not do this the shaman would sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

683 An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

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[153] I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 210 9] Chukchansi.

683 when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

683 824 766 Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean, would kill a person without provocation. Other doctors thought of the evil things that man had done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

754 626 683 The activities of malicious shamans were curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-treatment from a certain shaman, could legitimately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

628 If a chief had a big family and they all started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right there now. Are you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

756 Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other

756 Yokuts tribes to the south. Their professional integrity was in no way superior to that of male shamans; and evil shamans, even though women, suffered the same fate. J.R. recounted
754 the following anecdote of the punishment of a
683 witch.

There was a witch (shaman), who lived near here, who used to go down to Picayune. She got killed right near here. An Indian named J. lived down across the creek, toward Oakhurst. His wife and aunt were both sick all the time. The woman doctor lived near there. [Inferentially, she was asked to doctor the invalids.] The man's wife died. That woman never tried to cure her. It looked like she never wanted to cure her. The doctor wouldn't help her at all, and J.'s wife didn't get any better. Looked like the witch didn't want to save her. Right away, after they buried the wife, the man's aunt, who was over there sick, died too, right away. They buried her, too. That night, after they buried his aunt, the man J., who didn't want that woman doctor to live, went and kicked and beat her and killed her right there.

Shamans' Contest

756 The formalized and spectacular contest be-
789 tween shamans, which was so important an adjunct to Yokuts mourning ceremonies, was but poorly represented in Chukchansi culture. The only contest described was seemingly not connected with the Mourning Ceremony but was merely an exciting demonstration of power.

J.R.'s father and father's two sisters had supernatural power. The aunts lived at Aplau (where Bersall lives now). At this place many Indians gathered to see the spectacle: Mono from Northfork, Chukchansi from Picayune, Gashowu (?) from Friant, and Miwok from Round House (Watsamo). From Friant came a shaman with his sister, also a shaman, wanting to demonstrate their power. The captain at Aplau was in charge, his permission was necessary. The captain said to the doctor from Friant, "You witches know how to shoot with your power, some kind you have. How far?" "Oh," said the shaman, "as far as to that building." ["That building" was J.R.'s substitution to indicate the distance, which was about 65-70 feet.]

The local shamans, J.R.'s father and aunt, already had their clothes off "to show they were witches" [were wearing ceremonial regalia, more probably. -- A.H.G.]. The father had blue-jay tail feathers arranged as ornaments. The visiting shamans were going to shoot J.R.'s father and aunt and knock them unconscious.

Two fires were built; the power came from them. The shamans held flat basket trays which they circled over the fire to draw from the fire the invisible magic "shot." First one worked over the fire, then the other. Then the first visitor shot J.R.'s father [method or motions not described]. He fell down. Then the second shaman from Friant caused J.R.'s

[P. 244 a] Western Mono NS 25

W Y 613 825 saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušl·l·n and Ko'·o (both Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl·l·n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl·l·n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

W Y 778 The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

W Y 756 The following very general information on shamanism was given by B.O.

Y [237] A man who was a doctor (poha'g*) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u'dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts analogue.

W Y 764 The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

W Y 756 683 The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

W Y 765 683 A mourning ceremony was being given by the Yokod at their village (near the present site of Yokohl). B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

1: Gayton E-S (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts NS29
CP. 244 b J Western Mono NS25

The Yckod had some grudge against a Wukchumni doctor, Ka ču·a. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob[1]) stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15), where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Učibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.[187]

[187] Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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755 with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first [757] blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

756 His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sick- [276] ness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

The shaman's rattle was the usual California one, but was a little 754 thing with but one or two cocoons. (Fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tied up in a mass of feathers. (Fig. [533] 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for the doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of re- 754 prisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman 756 bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed 683 at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

756 The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her [755] bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused [754] bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they [171] seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Moss, rock	*Yah-kow in-sum'-sum*
Poppy, Escholtzia, Californica	*Aw-wah e-tus*
Poppy, wild	*Yoh-eh me-yuh*
Rose, wild	*Haw-uh'-wus*
Sequoia (big tree)	*Toos-pung-ish*
Soap root	*Trak-quat*
Sunflower	*Wah-suh-wi*
Sagebrush, mountain	*Home-nuh*
Turkey Mullen	*You-huh*
Tulip, Mariposa	*Gow-me'-yuh*
Tulip, Star	*Cah-mi'-yuh*
Thistle, Drummond	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, ground	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, California	*Sah-du'-dah*
Thistle, Anderson	*Sah-du'-dah*
Tongue, Western Hounds	*Tah-dud*
Water Grass	*Kah-uh'-pe*
Weed, salt	*Sick-id Ku-you*
Weed, Tumble	*Tow-it'-chits*
Yerba Santa or Mt. Balm	*Kits-in'-ne*

EDIBLE AND MEDICINAL PLANTS

The practice of medicine by Indians is not often well understood. White settlers have generally stated that the Indian doctor practiced witchery. This is without question the truth. Two degrees were granted in medicine by the Yokuts—*Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo) and *Tripne* (Trip'-ne). Indian doctors first attained the Ahntru degree. They could cure complaints with roots and herbs and some claimed to be able to cure by magic. Both men and women might be Ahntru. The Tripne Indian doctor, or medicine man, was a shaman, or fakir, and was called in after practical medicines had failed. He was feared by the rest of the tribe and upon the death of his third patient, or when he was suspected of having used his supernatural power to cause a death, was himself generally put to death.

The practice of the Tripne medicine man consisted of a weird sing-song chant for the purpose of driving away evil spirits, of blood letting, of pounding and hammering the patient, and of the pretense of removing the pain by means of cutting and drawing off the blood and object causing the pain from the cut through a tube or the hollow of the hand.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[36] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

● [683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[37]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[38]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[39]

685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy.

[622 735]

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[36] See anecdote, p. 392.
[37] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[38] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[39] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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relationship with the occult, were too troublesome. Others were afraid of attempting it lest they make a mistake and incur the ill will of the dream creature. Many people, both men and women, acquired a little power, sufficient to keep them from danger on strange trails, to cure simple illnesses of their children or friends, or to have luck in hunting and gambling. Relatively few persons, and these only men, became professional shamans. Probably many persons had sufficient power but did not wish to proclaim it.

Shaman's power was not of a peculiar sort nor was it inherited. It was merely a greater quantity, an accumulation of dream experiences, say six, to an average person's one or two. The more of such experiences one had the greater his knowledge of the occult would become, and the bond between the individual and the supernatural world increasingly strengthened. In other words, the difference between a shaman's power and that of a non-professional was one of quantity rather than of quality. As one informant expressed it: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. They got mean, tried to see what they could do just to be doing it, and finally got so they thought they could do anything by means of their power. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."[81]

The reason some people were unwilling to become professional doctors, that is, cure any individual for the purpose of making money, was because of the danger of being killed if a patient died. The exercise of supernatural power for benevolent or malevolent purposes was believed to rest entirely upon the shaman's choice. Hence a doctor who attempted to cure a patient and failed was open to suspicion: either he had not sufficient power, or he had deliberately bewitched the person and was allowing him to die. Said the same informant: "If a man died his relations thought maybe the doctor didn't really try to cure him. They would get mad and talk about it. They'd say, 'he doesn't know much,' 'he is a bad doctor,' and like that. They'd get madder while they talked and maybe decide to kill that doctor. Some of the dead man's relations would kill the doctor. There was no special man to do this. They didn't always tell the chief."

A doctor who lost several patients but still continued to cure was definitely believed to be malicious. First of all he was causing illness in order to make himself rich through the fees gained in administering to the sick man, and secondly, he was allowing him to die out of sheer malice.

[81] From Sam Osborn, who himself has considerable power. He has cured immediate relatives and intimate friends but does not profess to be a doctor.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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MALICIOUS ACTIVITIES

754 The sinister activities of evil shamans are ever present in the native mind. The following series of anecdotes related by informants from various sections of San Joaquin valley are evidence of the baleful rôle which doctors played in aboriginal life.

A Wobonuch (WM) informant, 'Merican Joe, with George Dick interpreting, gave the following:

Cahaola (Charlie Pete) had a large family. They were living at Sief's below Mill creek. One of his girls got sick and died. Soon another had a similar attack. Cahaola got a doctor named Puca to cure her. He was a man of small stature, and "very, very mean." This was the doctor who was poisoning Cahaola's children. Puca sat down in front of the girl and cut her in several places. He finally sucked out a water weaver. It had been used as "air-shot."

Soon others in Cahaola's family died: the water insect went from one to another killing each. At last there was only one girl, Pahamo, left, and she too fell ill. Cahaola now was desperate. He came over to Kiteeyu (Dunlap) and consulted Laoteu'i (Little Dick), the Entimbich chief, telling him that he wanted to kill Puca. Laoteu'i sent him to see Hamate (Luckett). Both chiefs agreed that Cahaola was justified as it was well known that Pahamo had refused to sleep with Puca. Hence Puca was taking the usual doctor's revenge by making her sick. Puca was living over at Kiteeyu at the time with a daughter of Haipuc (Samson Jack). He had two other women, one up at Hart's basin, the other in Drum valley. He always took barely nubile girls.

There had been a fandango at Kiteeyu. Someone told Cahaola that Puca was going over to Ke'onikwe (No. 3 Mill Camp) the next day, so Cahaola went ahead on the trail to waylay him. When Puca was ready to start he sent some of his friends on before him saying that he was going down to Barton's saloon to get some whiskey and would catch up with them. Then he followed by himself.

Cahaola was waiting on the trail. He saw Haipuc and some other men coming along, so remained hidden. Then he saw Puca in the distance; Puca was riding a white horse and was plainly visible. Puca drew nearer; he was very drunk and was singing loudly. The song he sang as he rode was "You can take my heart [soul, spirit] away today." He had already been informed through a dream that Cahaola was going to kill him. As he came opposite, Cahaola jumped out and shot him through the body with a .44. Puca fell off his horse and landed upright on a rock; he sat up rigidly straight. Cahaola accused him of killing his family. Puca admitted the crime and said he was glad he was going to be killed. Then Cahaola shot him between the eyes.

[683]

When Cahaola reached home his last daughter was dying.

The activities of bad doctors among the Waksachi (WM) are best illustrated by anecdotes involving three generations of shamans.[55] Of the following, numbers 1 and 3 were told by Sam Osborn, number 2 by Josie Alonzo:

1. A group of Waksachi were living at Teitatu. There was a nice young girl there. A doctor named Wasic sent his winatum around to call a few of his shaman friends together. The winatum asked Wasic what he was going to do.

[55] See genealogy, Western Mono: Waksachi 2, Appendix.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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He replied, "I am going to kill that pretty young girl. I want these doctors to help me with some extra talismans as there is a beautiful woman at Kiteeyu whom I am going to kill, too. I am going to make them sick. After they are dead I am going to skin them and stuff them like dolls. I have lots of money and baskets up at Tawatsanahahi in a big rock like a house; there is a lot of poison there, too. I am going to set these dolls up in there." 754

The wi·atum was aghast but was too afraid of Wasic to object. He told the other doctors that they were to meet that night at Tawatsanahahi (eating dead person; also called Tawatsa'asot'ho'i, dead person skinned), a hill above Kiteeyu which was a customary meeting place for doctors. No ordinary person dared go up there.

When the doctors assembled they made a fire and proceeded to make "air-shot" in the usual way. The girl at Teitatu got sick suddenly and died the next day. They made "shot" for the woman at Kiteeyu. She died, too. Then the doctors went home. They were warned not to tell anything on threat of being killed by Wasic.

The girls were buried and stayed in the ground two nights. On the third night about eight o'clock Wasic went to the Teitatu girl's grave. He walked around it twice, each time stamping at the head. The girl rose right up out of the ground and stood up. Then Wasic waved his talisman, a rope of eagle down, and the girl flew into the air and came to earth some hundred yards away.[88] Then he flew himself by the same means. They moved thus again and again until they reached Tawatsanahahi. Then he did the same thing to the young woman at Kiteeyu. He had to call on his friends for more talismans for this as the power of his own was worn out. When both girls were placed on the rocks the doctors assembled and skinned them. They stuffed the skins with grass and dressed the dummies in beads and quail feather earrings.

"Doctors always worked at night on such business; in the daytime they were where they belonged."

2. A man named Tukatsi lived at Kiteeyu. His wife was a Wakatchi named Nellie. She became lame. The condition slowly grew worse until she was entirely crippled. Etak, a powerful doctor and the son of Wasic, was accused of causing the sickness. Etak was also accused of the death of two or three women and a man. When Tukatsi's wife died after being treated by Etak he went over to the doctor's house. Etak was just outside the door. Tukatsi shot him with an arrow. Etak began leaping all around and yelping, "Ai ii, ai ii i," just like a coyote. Tukatsi took up an axe and went after him but Etak escaped. [683]

Tukatsi met another doctor on his way home. He shot him in the eyes. This doctor had not injured anyone so far as was known but Tukatsi was beside himself and was ready to shoot any doctor on sight.

3. Haloptea was a son of Etak. He was a "mean" doctor. His sister Teeyi married a man named Koikoi'itc. They had four children, two boys and two girls. They moved over to Owens valley to live, for some reason. Haloptea made an eagle down belt and took it over to his niece. Two days later the girl died from poisoning with which the belt had been treated. Her brother died one year later. Soon after that the other two children died, and finally Teeyi herself. Koikoi was beside himself. He came over to Kiteeyu to kill Haloptea. The bad doctor knew from a dream that he was being sought so he kept out of the way.

Koikoi went to Haloptea's house. Etak was there; he was an old, old man now, and blind. Koikoi shot him. Haloptea heard of this and rushed down to Visalia to get the sheriff. Koikoi was still around looking for Haloptea when

[88] This was a common feat of powerful shamans in the region.

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did not want to go directly to the village. The Wakaachi did not feel it was their business to hinder this man, but they asked him to wait until Camaka had left Tcitatu as they did not want any trouble started at the fandango that might involve other people. They also told the Gawia that the shaman had a horse and could get away easily so to be on the lookout for him. The man agreed to leave Camaka alone until after he had left Tcitatu. He went over to Badger where Sam Osborn's uncle put him up.

The following morning Camaka and his family went over to Badger, too. He made his wife and daughter look after the horses as he was afraid to be seen alone far from camp. In the meantime a Choinimni and his family had gone to Badger. They were camping there. The Gawia told the Choinimni of his affairs, and winning the latter's sympathy, the two agreed upon a plan by which Camaka might be killed. The Choinimni was paid for his part. That night the Choinimni made a big fire and asked Camaka to come over for a visit. He told the shaman to sit down on one side of the fire while he and his family and Sam's uncle sat at right angles from him. He said that thus Camaka might address them all as he was relating the latest news from down Wukchumni way. When all was arranged the Gawia leaped out from a pile of rocks behind Camaka and shot him in the shoulder. Then he rushed in and cut his throat. [683]

The Gawia still was so enraged that he wanted to go over to Camaka's camp and kill all his family. Sam's uncle and the Choinimni restrained him from doing this, pointing out that the doctor's relations were innocent and to kill them would be unjustifiable murder.

Bob Osborn tells of another Wukchumni doctor who caused trouble among the Yokod:

A mourning ceremony was being held by the Yokod at Yokol. Bob Osborn and his brother George were asked to come and bring some deer as they were hunters of renown. They stopped at Rancheria Flat over night. They got six deer on the way. They reached Yokol on Thursday. The crying ceremony ended on Saturday night and the rejoicing celebration started early Sunday morning.

Present at the fandango was a Wukchumni doctor who was accused of sickening or killing several Yokod. Several men had decided that the time had come to kill him. On Sunday morning at the moment when the mourners were all standing in a row waiting to be washed the Wukchumni doctor was standing off at a little distance. The conspiring men were ready. One of them ran down and grabbed the doctor. Another shot at the doctor but hit the man who was holding him. The doctor reached for his bow and shot several times at his assailants. Then he rushed into the nearest tule house. The men cornered him and shot him to death. Neither brothers nor other relatives took up a feud as the doctor's death was regarded by all as justifiable. [683]

A Choinimni doctor who made people sick and cured them just to get money was able to cause sickness as much as a hundred miles away, according to Josie Alonzo:

After Koowa's death a Choinimni doctor, Teokonik, came down to the Nutunutu (Y) at Kingston to cure the sick people there. At this time, Josie, her mother, and her sister-in-law with her two little boys, were working near Visalia. A winatum had come around telling them that Teokonik was going to make a visit to Kingston. The family decided that they wanted to go over to see the performance. On the morning when they were ready to start they all heard a little

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this fandango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over.

Polkoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him.

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore ranchería. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Humtinin ("southerner") named Tcehĕmsuk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Tcehĕmsuk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Tcehĕmsuk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition continued to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly.

One of his songs was:

watĭnihe	tsatsana	añṭawuhun
whose	chicken hawk down	belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Tcehĕmsuk was making him ill. He tried to kill Tcehĕmsuk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Tcehĕmsuk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his ṭipni (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o from curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'in, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel,

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhusa, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Teinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Teinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Teinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:

674 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after
754 the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their
[683] chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[60] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Yaudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[61] In this region the moiety organization
572

[60] Sam Garfield. [61] Gifford, field notes, 1915.